# A Cost-Benefit Analysis of the Clay County Domestic Violence Court

## Introduction

Cases of intimate partner domestic violence involve a myriad of dynamics that require a complex interplay of legal, administrative and service-based processes for successful intervention. Collaboration among criminal justice agencies and community partners is necessary to effectively prioritize the safety of victims and ensure offender accountability. Further, a multidisciplinary approach is crucial in establishing a collaborative framework to mitigate factors that precipitate violence (e.g., substance abuse, homelessness and unemployment). Thus, in order to effectively address the individual, relational and societal conditions that cause intimate partner violence, a holistic approach to criminal justice case processing must exist. Without a dedicated structure, intervention methods are fragmented and largely ineffective, subsequently resulting in detrimental impacts to public safety. Domestic Violence Courts are a categorical branch of specialty court programs that seek to alleviate the obstacles created by a traditionalist court system in the handling of domestic violence cases. Through utilization of evidence-based tactics and tools, such problem-solving programs rely on a multi-disciplinary approach to ensure victim safety, increase offender accountability and reduce rates of domestic violence within their respective jurisdiction.

The first dedicated Domestic Violence Court programs emerged in the United States in the late 1990s and were designed to promote victim safety, offender accountability and case processing efficiency through utilization of a dedicated court calendar, implementation of best-practice methods and enhancement of inter-agency communication. Since this time different variations of this dedicated violence prevention program have been initiated across the country. The first such system to be implemented in Minnesota was the Stearns County Domestic Violence Court (2008), which accepts cases where an offender is charged with a felony-level

domestic violence related offense against an intimate partner and has at least one prior felony domestic related charge and conviction. This program demonstrated significant success in improving offender accountability and promoting victim safety, namely in the dramatic reduction of domestic violence-related homicides experienced since the inception of the program. In 2011, the Clay County Domestic Violence Court (DVC) became the second dedicated program in Minnesota and arose out of the community need to address the steadily increasing rates of intimate partner domestic violence throughout Clay County. DVC was the first domestic violence court system in the state to accept all cases of intimate partner domestic violence, regardless of offense level or past criminal convictions. Since the advent of these two programs, multiple other forms of domestic violence courts have arisen throughout the state of Minnesota.

Internal and external evaluation of DVC have found the program to have significant beneficial impacts on multiple factors associated with criminal justice performance outcomes. However, the question of how fiscally beneficial the program is has not been previously determined. Total reliance on federal funding makes the future operation of DVC uncertain, as the specific funding received by the program continues to be cut with each subsequent grant cycle. Analysis of the cost-to-benefit ratio associated with DVC operation will allow stakeholders to examine the tangible inputs and outputs of the system.

# **Background**

Clay County has a population of approximately 61,000 and is also part of the larger metropolitan area of Moorhead, Minnesota and Fargo, North Dakota with a collective population of approximately 190,000. Since the Fargo-Moorhead area is the major hub between Minneapolis/St. Paul and western ND, it has experienced a significant increase in population, and subsequent violent crime. In 2010, the Seventh District Judicial Branch was awarded a

federal Office on Violence Against Women (OVW) grant in the amount of \$263,316 to plan and implement a dedicated domestic violence court system. Cohesive collaboration of a multi-disciplinary team of stakeholders made this planning processing possible, and on October 31<sup>st</sup> of 2011 DVC held its first dedicated docket. The initial grant completely funded the program for 36-months, whereupon the program was the recipient of a 24-month, OVW continuation grant in September of 2014 in the amount of \$112,929. This grant funding will end on September 30<sup>th</sup> of 2016. DVC has applied for the competitive OVW Justice for Families Program 36-month grant that entailed funding requests to support continuance and enhancement of the program (\$589,000).

Empirical evidence strongly supports the idea that countering the pervasive problem of domestic violence in the Clay County community will entail mitigating the salient factors contributing to abusive behavior. This goal is only obtainable through the collaborative coordination of services amongst agencies both internal and external to the criminal justice system. DVC exists within a multi-disciplinary structure that makes achieving this overarching mission possible. Extensive time and resources have been dedicated by stakeholders, key personnel and community leaders to successfully implement procedures to enhance victim safety, improve offender accountability and increase case processing efficiency within DVC. The inclusion of post-conviction review hearings has significantly increased offender compliance, enhanced judicial monitoring, and facilitated swifter sanctions for probation violations.

Mandated nonviolence education has been empirically shown to reduce rates of recidivism amongst DVC offenders and training opportunities have provided key stakeholders with advanced knowledge of domestic violence case processing.

While DVC has been found to be of significant import in improving key intangible factors associated with domestic violence crime and case processing (e.g., victim safety, inter-agency communication), the fiscal state of the system has not yet been assessed. Given the complete reliance of the program on external grant funding, it has become increasingly necessary to assess the financial responsibility of the program on the criminal justice system and community. The following cost-benefit analysis includes an evaluation of accrued cost-savings and predictive forecasting of future estimated cost-savings. The first evaluation will examine the extent to which DVC has fiscally impacted the community since its inception in 2012. The second evaluation will use predictive forecasting to estimate the increase in financial costs that will be incurred over the next five years if DVC ceases operation. Together these evaluations provide an aggregate representation of the fiscal responsibility of DVC. Estimation of cost-savings within both the accrued and forecasted evaluations includes costs associated with the multiple divisions of the criminal justice system and several societal entities recognized in research as being most fiscally impacted by domestic violence crime rates.

# **Evaluation 1: Accrued Cost-Savings**

In order to assess the cost-benefit of DVC, two crime rate models were created for comparison. First, the actual crime trends (actual model) were graphed using a linear model depicting domestic violence crime rates by year intervals. The number of domestic violence offenses between 2005 and 2011 (pre-DVC) were provided by a community-based advocate, whereas the number of comparable offenses between 2012 and 2015 (DVC) were generated using the program's Data Management System. To calculate crime rates, the number of offenses was divided by the county's population for each respective year. These two data sets were

combined to create a singular linear trend line, depicting the average domestic violence crime rate experienced in Clay County between 2005 and 2015 (Figure 1).

The second model was created to estimate the predicted rates of domestic violence crime between 2012 and 2015, given past trends and rate of population growth. This model serves as an approximation of what domestic violence crime rates would have been predicted to be between 2012 and 2015, if solely relying on past average crime rates and population increase. For the purposes of this assessment, this model uses predictive analysis to estimate what the rate of domestic violence crime would have been between 2012 and 2015 without the inception of DVC. Predictive analysis is an area of statistics that utilizes data extraction and mathematical algorithms to predict trends and outcomes based on historical data. Information from 2005-2011 crime trend data was used to mathematically generate the predicted domestic violence crime rates in Clay County between 2012 and 2015 based on the population increase in each respective year. Predictive analytics allowed for the statistical representation of the projected exponential growth of domestic violence crimes per year between 2012 and 2015. The 2005-2011 dataset was combined with this projected 2012-2015 dataset to create a singular linear trend line depicting the projected average rate of domestic violence crimes in Clay County between 2005 and 2015 (Figure 2).

The comparison of crime rates between different years involved normalizing the population to reflect the crime rate per 100,000 residents. This normalization was achieved by dividing the population of Clay County by the number of domestic violence arrests made during the respective year, and subsequently multiplying the result by 100,000. When calculating the tangible costs associated with the difference in crime rates between the models, this normalized

rate was adapted to fit the average population of Clay County between 2012 and 2015 (61,223 residents).

Evaluation of the fiscal impact of DVC involved comparing number of cases between 2012 and 2015 of each model. The actual model provides the rates experienced in the county in that timeframe, whereas the predictive model provides what those rates would have been estimated to be based on historical data. Monetary impact was assessed by the estimating the criminal justice and societal costs associated with any difference in number of cases between the models.

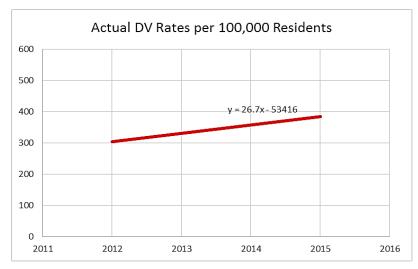


Figure 1: Actual Rates of DV Cases per 100,000 Residents

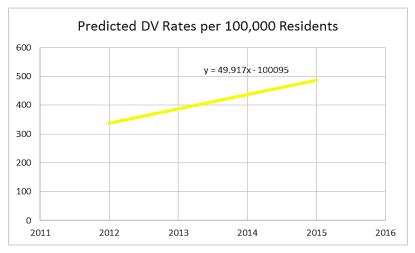


Figure 2: Predicted Rates of DV Cases per 100,000 Residents

The fiscal impact of DVC within the criminal justice system involved two separate analyses. This first analysis involved calculating the impact of the reduced recidivism rates attributed to DVC, using a comparison of recidivism rates prior to DVC and rates noted during the first four years of DVC operation. While these results are not presented in monetary figures, they do provide supporting information in regards to the difference in number of offenders/victims seen pre- and post-DVC implementation. The second set of analyses to gauge DVC's fiscal impact on the criminal justice system utilized the actual vs. predicted crime rate model to calculate the cost-savings in regards to law enforcement, court processing, offender supervision and incarceration.

Estimating the financial impact of DVC on the public at large involved examination of societal considerations commonly associated with domestic violence crimes. Calculation of victimization cost-savings used the actual vs. predicted crime rate model to assess how DVC contributed to lower costs associated with medical care, mental health services, employment and victim compensation. The assessment of the cost-savings in regards to offenders involved estimation of how rates of offense are fiscally beneficially in terms of offender employment. In addition, the impact of high offender unemployment on the Minnesota welfare/public assistance system is also provided. This impact was determined using the rate of unemployed DVC offenders in 2014, multiplied by the average individual amount received by a public assistance recipient during the same year (DVC Database).

### **Results**

Between the target timespan years of 2012 through 2015 the population of Clay County increased by an average of 718 residents per year. Rates of domestic violence crime increased annually by an average of 15.5 cases per 100,000 residents over the same time span. Using predictive analysis it was possible to construct the hypothetical domestic violence domestic

violence crime rates given the trends in rate changes between 2005 and 2011. Within this predictive model rates of domestic violence crime increased annually by an average of 50 cases per 100,000 residents.

Comparison of the actual and predictive models reveals that between 2012 and 2015 the difference in crime rates of domestic violence offenders was 269 per 100,000 inhabitants per year. When adapting this rate to the average population of Clay County during those same four years (61,223), this equates to a difference of 165 offenses, or 41 per year. A summary of the specific rates within and between both the actual and predictive models can be found in Table 1. A graphical representation of the combined models can be found in Figure 3. While crime rates did increase in both models, in the actual model rates increased by an average of 5% per year between 2012 and 2015, whereas in the predicted model rates increased by about 11% per year over the target timespan

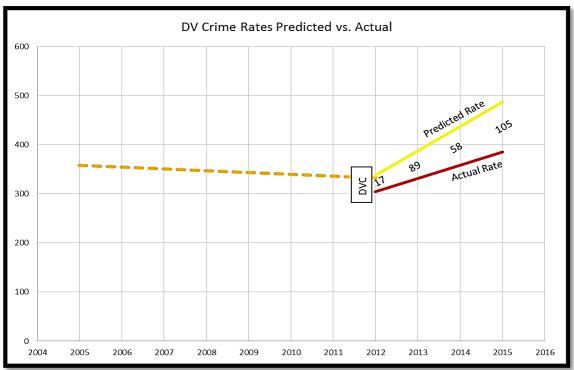


Figure 3: Combined Models per 100,000 residents

Table 1: Actual vs. Predictive Model Crime Rates								
Year	Actual Crime Rate (per 100,000)	Predictive Crime Rate (per 100,000)	Difference (per 100,000)					
2005	357	357	-					
2006	383	383	-					
2007	340	340	-					
2008	291	291	-					
2009	368	368	-					
2010	369	369	-					
2011	323	323	-					
2012	320	337	17					
2013	298	387	89					
2014	379	437	58					
2015	382	487	105					
		Total Difference	269					
	165							
Total Difference - Adjusted for Population 165								

Table 1: Calculated Difference Between Actual and Predictive Model

# **Criminal Justice System**

Law Enforcement. Determination of DVC's fiscal impact on local law enforcement required calculation of the cost of police processing of violent crimes. The Minnesota Coalition for Battered Women (MCBW, 2010) estimates that the average cost of investigating an assault where arrest occurs is approximately \$500 per offense. This means that the predicted additional 165 offenders would have resulted in an \$82,500 expense to law enforcement over the target timespan, or \$20,625 per year. Furthermore, the estimated cost of an average arrest investigation only includes salaries and fringe benefits of officers, not all possible police costs (MCBW, 2010). Nor does this estimation include costs associated with assaultive calls where no arrest occurs.

Court Administration. Court Administration costs are determined by using the national estimate cost per minute of court time. The MCBW estimated this cost at \$8.50 per minute in 2004. Adjusted for inflation the approximate cost over the target time span is \$10.48 per minute.

Using MCBW's estimated 250 minutes per case approximation, the predicted additional 165 offenders would cost the court an additional \$2,620 per offender, which equates to \$432,300 over the target timespan or \$108,075 per year.

Offender Supervision. Probations costs are determined by calculating the cost of having an offender on probation for a single year. The American Probation and Parole Association estimated the cost of probation to be \$3.49 per offender per day in 2004. After adjusting for inflation, this cost is approximated at an average of \$4.30 over the target time span. Assuming all 165 predicted defendants were subject to supervision, the Department of Corrections would have been responsible for an additional \$258,967 between 2012 and 2015, or a \$64,742 per year in supervision costs.

*Incarceration*. The estimated minimum cost of housing an inmate in a Minnesota county jail is \$55 per day. This does not include additional inmate costs or jail transport costs. The average time a DVC defendant spends incarcerated pre-trial in the Clay County jail is approximately 35.18 days (DVC Database). This means that the average DVC inmate produces an estimated \$1,934.90 in jail housing costs. The predicted additional offenders then would have cost the jail system and additional \$319, 258.50 over the target timespan, or \$79,814.63 per year.

The average annual cost per inmate in Minnesota's prison system is approximately \$41,364 (Vera Institute of Justice, 2012). Approximately 5% of the convicted DVC offenders are committed to the Commissioner of Corrections (DVC Database). Using the comparison of the two crime rate models, it would then reason that of the predicted additional 165 defendants, Clay County would have sentenced an additional 2 defendants per year to prison (≈\$82,728 per year). In context, if each of these offenders were to serve a 36-month sentence, the total financial cost of incarceration would be \$868,644.

### **Societal Considerations**

Victim Medical Care. It is estimated that 31% of victims of domestic violence require some kind of medical care due to injuries sustained during the assault (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1992). Of these victims, approximately 64% either have no insurance or medical assistance (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1992). Thus, of the 165 predicted additional victims, 51 would require medical care and 32 would depend on public sources for payment. With the average medical costs for an individual assault victim totaling \$483 on average, the total cost for these 32 victims to taxpayers would be approximately \$15,765, which equates to \$3,941 per year.

Victim Mental Health Services. Thirty-seven percent of domestic assault victims are estimated to develop mental health issues requiring treatment as a result of their abuse, and the estimated cost of such treatment is about \$207 per person (Cohen, Miller & Rossman, 1994).

Most of these services are provided by publicly funded centers/agencies. Thus, of the 165 predicted additional victims, 61 would be estimated to require mental health services, totaling an estimated \$12,637 over the target time span, or \$3,159 per year.

Employment. Domestic violence is estimated to result in a \$476 per victim loss in work productivity, hours and earnings (Miller, Cohen & Rossman, 1993), totaling \$78,540 over the target time span for the 165 predicted additional victims, which equates to \$19,635 per year. Similarly, offenders experience an estimated average of \$217 per case loss (Miller et al., 1993). The 165 predicted additional offenders would then result in \$35,805 in lost productivity, hours and earnings over the target timespan, or \$8,951 per year. Therefore, the combination of the 165 predicted offenders and victims would result in an additional \$28,586 per year loss in worker productivity. It is notable to also include that DVC offenders have an unemployment rate of 48%, and even amongst the employed offenders the average wage is only \$14.02 per hour (DVC)

Database, 2015). Almost 60% of offenders receive some form of public benefits (DVC Database, 2015) resulting in an estimated 1.3 million dollar annual expense to the State of Minnesota.

Victim Compensation. In 2015, there were 1,276 new applications made to the Minnesota Crime Victims Reparations Board with a total award amount of \$2.9 million with victims receiving an average of \$2,272 in compensation (Minnesota Crime Reparations Board, 2015). The Reparations Board receives funding primary through the state's general fund and federal grant awards. Approximately 4.5% of DVC victims are eligible to receive compensation (DVC Database, 2015). When utilizing the 165 predicted offender difference between the actual and predictive models, an estimated 8 additional victims per year would have been eligible to receive compensation between 2012 and 2015 (\$18,176 per year).

Operational Costs. Currently, the source of funding used for direct operation of the program is the active OVW Justice for Families Program grant. Necessary costs to operate the program include salary and fringe benefits for the part-time (30 hrs/wk) Domestic Violence Court Coordinator position. Estimated costs to fund this position (salary and fringe) total \$65,853. Other necessary program costs would include a minimal amount for general office supplies, averaging about \$25 per month (\$300/yr.). Thus, when considering the absolutely necessary costs to continue operation, input to sustain DVC is approximately \$66,153 per year.

# **Cost-Benefit Analysis**

*Criminal Justice System.* When comparing the actual model and predictive models in terms of gross financial value, the total financial benefit experienced by the criminal justice system is an estimated \$355,985 per year.

Societal Considerations. When comparing the actual model and predictive models in terms of gross financial value, the financial benefit to the public (victim medical care, victim mental health services, employment, victim compensation) is an estimated \$53,862 per year.

*Total Cost-Savings*. When combining criminal justice system and societal factors, the total gross financial benefit of DVC is \$409,846.63 per year. Deducting the financial expense (input) of \$66,153 per year for program operation this total gross financial benefit results in an annual cost-savings of \$343,693.63 (Figure 4). A summary of findings can be found below in Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of Findings						
	Annual	Target Timespan				
Criminal Justice System						
Law Enforcement	+\$20,625.00	+\$82,500.00				
Court Administration	+\$108,075.00	+\$432,300.00				
Supervision	+\$64,742.00	+\$258,967.00				
Incarceration - jail	+\$79,814.63	+\$319,258.50				
Incarceration - prison	+\$82,728.00	+\$330,912.00				
Total	+\$355,984.63	+\$1,423,937.50				
Societal Factors						
Victim Medical Costs	+\$3,941.00	+\$15,765.00				
Victim Mental Health Services	+\$3,159.00	+\$12,637.00				
Victim Employment	+\$19,635.00	+\$78,540.00				
Offender Employment	+\$8,951.00	+\$35,805.00				
Victim Compensation	+\$18,176.00	+\$72,704.00				
Total	+\$53,862.00	+\$215,451.00				
Gross Output	+\$409,846.63	+\$1,639,388.50				
Program Expenses						
Coordinator Salary & Fringe	-\$65,853.00	-\$263,412.00				
Supplies	-\$300.00	-\$1,200.00				
Gross Input	-\$66,153.00	-\$264,612.00				
Net Cost-Savings (Output – Input)	+\$343,693.63	+\$1,374,776.50				
per County Taxpayer)	\$7.30	\$29.00				
Table 2: Summary of Findings						

# **Evaluation 2: Anticipated Cost-Savings**

In order to assess the predicted fiscal benefit of continued DVC operation on the criminal justice system, exponential growth models were used to predict the population of Clay County and the subsequent domestic violence crime rates over the next five years (2016-2020). Predicted population growth was calculated using the average population growth rate between 2005 and 2015 (1.79%). Population was held constant in both models. The predicted crime rate per 100,000 residents was calculated in both models using the average rate of increase in domestic violence crimes between 2005 and 2011, and was subsequently adjusted for the population size of Clay County for each individual year (Table 3).

Table 3: Anticipated Cost-Savings									
		Predictive Model		DVC Model		Difference			
Year	Population	Rate per 100,00	Population Adjusted	Rate per 100,00	Population Adjusted	Rate per 100,00	Population Adjusted		
2016	63,965	505	323	384	246	121	77		
2017	65,121	523	341	387	252	136	89		
2018	66,297	543	360	390	259	153	101		
2019	67,495	563	380	394	266	170	114		
2020	68,714	584	401	396	272	188	129		
	Total	<u>1950</u>	<u>1,805</u>	<u>2718</u>	<u>1,295</u>	<u>768</u>	<u>510</u>		
Growth Rate		3.64%		<u>0.70%</u>		<u>2.94%</u>			

Table 3: Anticipated Cost-Savings

The average growth rate within the DVC model was 0.70% between 2005 and 2012, whereas the average growth rate within the predictive model was 3.64% during the same time period. Over the five year time span it is estimated that within the DVC model, 1,295 defendants will enter the criminal justice system per a domestic violence-related offense. In the predictive model, this number is 1,805 defendants, resulting in a 510 defendant difference between the two models; equating to 102 defendants per year.

### **Results**

Law Enforcement. Using the estimated \$500 per offense cost (MCBW, 2010), over the next five years, without DVC, it is projected law enforcement will spend an additional \$255,000 (\$51,000/yr) for domestic violence crime investigation costs.

Court Administration. Even without accounting for inflation, the projected 510 additional cases would still have an extremely detrimental impact on court processing costs. Using the \$10.48 per minute of case processing time and the 250 minute per case time estimate, the projected 510 additional cases are estimated to cost Court Administration a total of \$1,336,200 between 2016 and 2020 (\$267,240) per year. This equates to an extra 2,125 hours (127,500 minutes) required Court Administration staff time (425 hr/yr).

Supervision. Using the American Probation and Parole Association's estimate of \$4.30 per offender per day supervision cost, it is projected that without the benefit of DVC, the Department of Corrections will have to spend an additional \$160,089 per year in offender supervision (\$800,445 over five years).

Incarceration. Assuming similar inmate housing and average time-served estimates, the additional 510 predicted offenders will cost the Clay County jail a minimum of \$981,750 (\$196,350/yr) in additional incarceration costs over the next five years if the DVC program is terminated. Similarly, using the previously stated estimates of prison incarceration, this projected increase in rates of domestic violence crime are estimated to result in an additional 10 offenders being sentenced to prison sentences. At \$41,364 per inmate per year, this equates to about \$2,068,200 over the 5 year time span (\$413,640 per year).

**Projected Operating Costs.** In order to maintain operation of DVC at minimal levels funding for the part-position (30 hrs/wk) of the Domestic Violence Court Coordinator including

salary and fringe benefit costs would be required. In addition, a minimal amount would be required to supply basic office supplies (\$25/month). Utilizing the Minnesota Judicial Branch projected step increases in salary amounts per year between 2016 and 2020, the estimated total amount needed to completely fund the salary and fringe benefits of the Court Coordinator position is \$285,178 (\$57,035/yr). This in addition to the \$1,500 estimated for supply costs, results in an overall projected operating cost of \$286,678 for five years.

**Projected Cost-Benefit Analysis.** Without the continued existence of DVC, it is estimated that the county/state will incur additional gross criminal justice expenses of approximately \$4,459,845 over the next five years, or \$891,969 per year (Figure 4). Continued operation of DVC would cost about \$285,178 over the same time period, resulting in a net financial benefit of \$4,174,667, or \$834,933 per year.

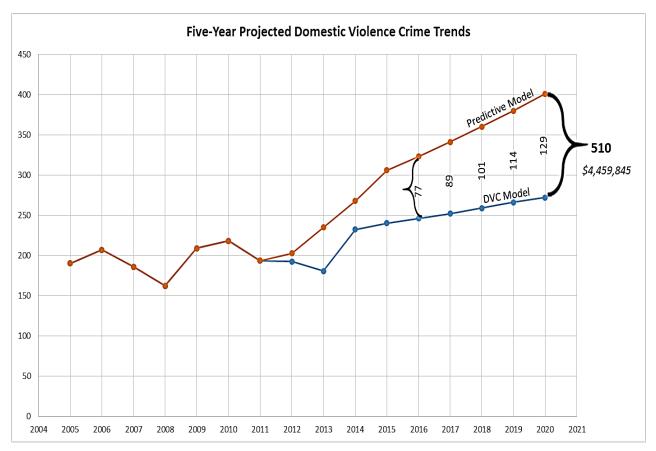


Figure 4: Projected Cost-Savings 2005-2020

### Discussion

The first evaluation estimated the fiscal savings incurred by the county/state between 2012 and 2015 using a comparison of actual rates of domestic violence crime processed through DVC and a predictive model based on what domestic violence crimes rates would have been during the same timespan given historical trends. Rates of domestic violence crime increased in both models, however in the actual DVC model rates increased by 15.5 defendants per 100,000 residents per year, whereas in the predictive model rates increase by 50 defendants per 100,000 residents per year. In addition, DVC also experienced about half of the recidivating offenders as seen in previous years.

Every defendant processed through the criminal justice system generates a financial burden on both the system and public, therefore it reasons that a decrease in number of defendants would subsequently result in less money spent per domestic violence defendant annually. It is anticipated that the program could have operated at a sufficient level between 2012 and 2015 for about \$66,153 per year. After deducting the operational costs of DVC from the projected gross monetary benefit, the result is a net financial benefit of \$343,693.63 per year between 2005 and 2015, which equates to \$7.30 for every Clay County taxpayer.

The second evaluation sought to anticipate the future fiscal impact of DVC on criminal justice-related costs. These projections indicate that if the DVC program is terminated a staggering increase in funding will be required from agencies across criminal justice and community entities in order to compensate for anticipated increases in crime rates. Projected cumulative costs without the benefit of DVC are estimated at about 4.5 million dollars between 2016 and 2020. For only 15% of these total expenditures, an internal jurisdiction could continue funding of the DVC program in order to preemptively mitigate this significant financial burden.

In examination of both criminal justice system and societal factors it is evident that DVC has contributed to a significant fiscal benefit to the criminal justice system and public at large.

While this report included a number of criminal justice sub-divisions in the cost-benefit analysis, this list was not inclusive of all criminal justice entities fiscally impacted by domestic violence offenses and recidivating offenders. The factors in this report were included because estimated costs within these system have been empirically determined and validated within Minnesota.

While the above cost-savings of DVC seem significant, savings of other agencies such as the Judiciary, County Attorney's Office, Public Defenders Office, Victim/Witness Program, community-based advocates, service providers and other applicable areas were not included in this evaluation. Given the demonstrated cost-savings in this analysis, it can be reasonably assumed that these entities have also likely fiscally benefited from DVC operations, thereby further widening the gap between program input and output.

Only tangible costs were calculated in this analysis. These include those factors that have a direct monetary relationship to domestic violence offenses and can be quantitatively measured. Intangible costs are those human-factors that cannot be easily quantified in terms of fiscal input/output. Example of such costs include victim pain and suffering, secondary victimization on family members and the community and loss of quality of life (Hugh, Hyder, Rajkoti, Basu, & Butchar, 2011). While placing a monetary amount on victimization is difficult, researchers have developed methods to estimate the intangible costs of domestic violence. McCollister, French and Fang (2010) used a "jury-compensation" method to estimate the intangible victim costs of crime. The estimated average intangible cost per victim of assault in this study was \$95,023, compared to an estimated tangible cost of \$8,700. Although the amount per victim may vary in other such studies, the trend of intangible costs being significantly higher than tangible

ones has been repeatedly validated (Hugh et al., 2011). Thus, while the tangible cost-savings associated with DVC are significant on their own, it is anticipated that the intangible cost-savings is significantly higher.

In conclusion, DVC has achieved significant success in reducing recidivism, enhancing victim safety, ensuring offender accountability and improving case processing efficiency, and can now be identified as a fiscally responsible public-sector program. In all, the program has been immensely successful in accomplishing the goals and objectives as originally generated by key stakeholders. Qualitative research has reported that offenders feel the court held them accountable and that they benefited from the nonviolence education they received in Batterers' Intervention Programming (Thompson, 2014). Victims report that the court process was fair and that Court's issuance of orders prohibiting contact made them feel safer (Thompson, 2014). As a result of the above research, it can now be assumed that DVC is also crucial in curtailing the financial burden associated with increased crime, and termination of programming would not only have detrimental effects on victims, offenders and their families, but also will almost assuredly increase the financial burden placed on all sub-sections of the criminal justice system and collaborating entities.

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